231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are believed to eat the larvae. [825] Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal [314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He [438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells [435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

[462] All the work of caring for bees is done by men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women. [373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

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231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to
[825] happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are specialists at curing animals. They are usually paid
232 for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[194] [11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Parícutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Parícutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

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232 common. If wounds are bound, carefully washed lard mixed with sugar may be applied or wet dressings may be used, dampened at frequent intervals with salt water.

Rabies is believed to be caused by the bite of some other animal, by inadequate food, or by heat. There is no cure.

Dysentery, *"posición,"* in horses and burros is believed to be caused by cold or *"salitre,"* a very salty mineral-bearing earth. The animal is fed pills of coffee, lemon, and bicarbonate of soda.

"Onia" is caused by overwork, but the symptoms were not recorded. Treatment is bleeding the side of the neck and rest. (In general,
[753] overwork is regarded as an important cause of sickness.)

Sore feet result from the feet becoming full of blood. The bottom of the foot is bled and the animal must rest until well.

"Roncha" is a disease caused by mosquito bites; if it is not cured within 24 hours, the animal usually dies. Symptoms and treatment were not recorded.

"Pirojon" is very dangerous and kills in 24 hours. It is believed to be caused by mosquitoes or flies that have bitten a dead animal already putrefying. One curer burns the bites with a magnifying glass.

Evil eye, *malojo*, may affect animals that refuse to eat. There is no cure. The best thing is to sell the animal to the man who cast the evil eye (at his price usually); the animal then recovers.

● [925] Bats are reported to bite animals at night and make them bleed. Nothing is done to prevent this. As it is said bats never bite humans, and as Cherán probably is above the range of vampire bats, the report may be folklore.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

In the previous sections were described the
128 technological processes which involve the exploitation of the environment and the extraction therefrom of raw materials. The present section will describe techniques by which the raw materials are processed and made ready for consumption. Obviously, such classifications must be somewhat elastic. No doubt, good reasons could be advanced against including domesticated animals under exploitative activi-

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776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

[556] In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the miri,gua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miri,gua." The miri,gua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

356 When houses are repaired or reconditioned, it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May, 789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

821 When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and howls, some misfortune may befall the people.

825 The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

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825 787 back where it enters, but no further beliefs could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

823 A very clever man once went up on San Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

821 263 789 Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the fire for this purpose.

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THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

538 heaven, are opposed to the bad super-
779 naturals, the Devil and the demons in hell; the right Religion and the Church are set against superstition and lack of religion; good behavior against bad (sin); the idea of the good going to heaven at death against that of the sinful being punished in hell.

577 Ethical values are apparent in the rea-
538 sons given for the destruction of the world and the creation of the Devil, in the actions
[779] of the saints in rewarding good behavior and punishing evil, in the acts of the Devil in sponsoring bad behavior, and in the destiny of the dead.

Taking this concept of good and evil as the main theme, we can give an outline of practically the whole, and certainly the most important part, of Tarascan religious ideas. Nonethical concepts are few and of secondary importance. They are mainly miscellaneous beliefs or tales (in which some natural elements are personified), omens, and so on.

773 Creation stories are not common among the Tarascans. In those collected, the con-
538 cept of good and evil is apparent. The duality of the supernatural—God and the
577 saints against the Devil—is explained as the consequence of the bad behavior of one of the sons of God who revolted against his Father and was punished by being made into the Devil. Insubordination and lack of respect for paternal authority are the causes of this punishment.

In several myths about the creation of animals, the good animals are created by God while the bad ones are related to the Devil. Thus, when Jesus and the chil-
[825] dren of the Devil play making mud figures, those of Jesus become birds while those of the Devil become "snakes and lizards, and scorpions and all sorts of bad animals". The coyote was a dog which deserted his master, the Devil.

773 Most important are the myths regarding the destruction of the world. In these we
538 have a blend of Spanish and Indian elements in which the Indian motives, nonethical in origin, are reinterpreted and subordinated to the Catholic concept of Good and Evil. A number of stories give two destructions of the world. A first one by water is identified with the Christian flood, although it keeps also some traits of the Mesoamerican flood myth; and a second by fire embodies Indian traits but is identified with the advent of Christianity and the Spanish conquest. Some ver-

773
775 Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go
[539] through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given
[778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one
[825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand,
[735] if one gives alms to beggars, they will speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized,
[788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɕʌkuɪin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
• [825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

754 Other than those of wealth, most pacts with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witch-
776 craft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.